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Speech of Hon. S. A. Douglas, At the Democratic Celebration of the Anniversary of American Freedom, in Independence Square, Philadelphia, Pa., July 24, 1854.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:—
I feel that it is good for us to be here on
this day. The day and place are consecrated
to liberty. It is a hallowed spot. I enter
Independence square—I approach Independence
Hall on the Fourth of July, with feelings
akin to those of the pilgrim when he
approaches the holy places. It is the birth-
place of American liberty. Here the Declara-
tion of Independence was first promulgated
—here the constitution of the United States
was formed. On this very spot, were pro-
claimed in that declaration, and embodied
in that constitution, those glorious principles
of civil and religious freedom which our fa-
thers have transmitted to us as the most
precious of all earthly blessings. [Great
applause.]

In these days, when efforts are being
made to stir up sectional strife, and organ-
ize political parties on geographical lines—
when religious persecution and intolerance
are being practised through the agency of
secret associations—and when men in high
places sacrilegiously deny all obligation to
carry into effect the plain injunctions of
the constitution which have been sworn
to support, it is well for good men and true
patriots to assemble on our national birth-
day, at the birth-place of our liberties,
and unite their efforts to preserve the prin-
ciples upon which they rest. [Applause.]
On the 4th of July, 1776, from the place
where I now stand, our forefathers declared
that these "Colonies are, and of right ought
to be, Free and Independent States."—
That was the starting point. Thirteen British
colonies were on that day converted into
thirteen independent American States.
The language is clear and explicit. The
causes which led to secession, and the in-
surrections that the several colonies gave to
their delegates in the Congress prescribing
the conditions upon which the declaration
of independence was to be made, clearly
show why this emphatic language was used.

The colonies did not, in the first instance,
demand independence. They were willing
to acknowledge their allegiance to the British
Crown, provided they were left free to
manage and regulate their own internal
affairs, without the interference or dictation
of the imperial government. They were wil-
ling to recognize the right of Great Britain
to grant colonial charters, like the organic
laws of our territorial governments, by which
the people of the colonies might make their
own laws through their representatives in
their local legislatures; but they solemnly
protested against the imperial Parliament,
in which they had no representation to make
laws affecting their persons and property
without consent. Upon this point the sepa-
ration took place, and the Declaration of
Independence, which you have just heard
read, declared the thirteen colonies to be
"Free and Independent States." But be-
fore the declaration was made, the colonies
gave instructions to their delegates, prescrib-
ing the conditions on which each would
consent to such a declaration. These in-
structions all prescribe the fundamental
principle that each colony shall have the right to
manage their internal affairs and domestic
concerns as they shall see meet and pro-
per. [Loud cheers.]

The instructions Pennsylvania gave to
her delegates as the condition upon which
they were to vote for the Declaration of In-
dependence contained this emphatic clause:
"Reserving to the people of this colony
the sole and exclusive right of regulating
the internal government and fabric of the
same." [Cheers and applause.]

The constitution of the United States
was formed and adopted by the people of these
thirteen States, each acting for itself and up-
on its own responsibility, as distinct and
independent sovereignties. By the constitution
thus formed, and under which we now live,
each State was left entirely free to
form and control its own domestic insti-
tutions in accordance with the great funda-
mental principle of self-government, asserted
in the Declaration of Independence, and in
violation of which all the battles of the
revolution were fought. [Applause.]

We are frequently told by the Abolition-
ists that the constitution of the United States
is an anti-slavery instrument, devised and
formed for the purpose of preventing the ex-
tension of African slavery, and of eradicat-
ing and exterminating it where it was found
to exist. Those who made this statement
furnish conclusive evidence that they do not
understand the principles of the constitution,
nor the history of the times when it was
adopted. At the period of the adoption of
the constitution, twelve of the thirteen
States by which it was formed were slave-
holding States. Is it reasonable to expect
us to presume, on mere assertion and with-
out evidence, that these twelve slavehold-
ing States devised and ratified the constitu-
tion with the view of destroying a domestic
institution which was interwoven with the
whole social system, and expressly recog-
nized as one of the legitimate elements of
political power in the federal representation?
Why that clause in the federal constitution
providing for the surrender of fugitives
from service, if it was the object of that in-
strument to abolish slavery and release the
slaves from bondage? The pretensions of
the abolitionists in this respect are render-
ed preposterous by the terms of the con-
stitution itself. The idea of either estab-
lishing or abolishing, extending or circum-
scribing slavery, by the constitution of the
United States, or by the action of the fed-
eral government, never entered the brain of
the framers of the constitution. African
slavery, whether right or wrong, true or un-
wise, was at that time existing in twelve of
the thirteen States. The institution was plant-
ed by the British government in each of
the thirteen colonies without their consent
and against their remonstrances. The war
of the revolution converted the dependent
colonies into independent States, without
changing or affecting the relations existing
between the master and slave. Slavery
ceased to exist in one of the States, but still
remained in all the others, Pennsylvania in-
cluded, at the time the constitution of the
United States was formed. With a few
exceptions expressly provided for in the in-
strument, it was the design of the constitu-
tion to recognize and protect whatever in-
stitution each State acting for itself, had on

should establish or legalize. The people of
each State were left entirely free to choose
for themselves what kind of domestic insti-
tutions they would have, and so soon and
so long as each State should thus determine,
it became the duty of the federal govern-
ment, under the constitution, to protect such
institutions in the several States as they
should be found to exist; for instance, Penn-
sylvania was a slaveholding State at the
time of the adoption of the constitution, and
remained so more than a quarter of a cen-
tury before the institution closed under the
decree of her own people. So long as
Pennsylvania continued to legalize slavery
by her own laws and constitution, the con-
stitution of the United States recognized and
protected the institution of slavery within
her limits, as solemnly and imperatively as it
now recognizes and protects the prohibition
which Pennsylvania has imposed on slavery
within her own limits. The same remark is
applicable to New Jersey, New York, Con-
necticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire.
Each of these States recognized and pro-
tected slavery within their limits at the time
and for a long period subsequent to the
adoption of the federal constitution; and
each of them has since abolished and pro-
hibited slavery without the consent or inter-
ference of Congress. No man denied the
right of each of these States, under the
constitution, to retain the institution of sla-
very so long as they chose to do so; no man
denied the right to abolish it at the time it
was abolished in each by voluntary action
of their own people; and I presume that no
man will now deny the right of each of
these States to introduce slavery, pro-
vided their own people should deem it
just and wise to do so by the modification of
their local constitution and laws. It being
evident, then, that the original States, one
and all, have the undoubted right, under
the constitution, to introduce or exclude sla-
very at pleasure, with what reason can it
be contended that a different rule may or
should be applied to the new States? It
hardly requires an argument to prove that
each State of this Union must be equal in
respect to its rights and powers to every
other State. The States are sovereign and
independent in all things except where the
constitution of the United States has im-
posed limitations. Those limitations apply
like the laws of the States of the Union, new
and old, slaveholding and non-slaveholding.
No other limitation upon the sovereignty of
State can be imposed than those contained
in the constitution—none can be imposed
by act of Congress—none by any branch
of the federal government—none by any earl-
ly power except the constitution of the United
States. Entire and perfect equality,
therefore, among all the States of the Union,
in respect to the rights of legislation and
sovereignty, is a cardinal and fundamental
principle in our republican system. Indeed,
the moment you impose upon the rights of
any one State a limitation which the constitu-
tion has not enjoined upon all the States,
such State ceases to be a STATE, within the
meaning of the constitution. Such limitation
produces inferiority where the constitution
has provided for perfect equality. Under
the admission of "new States," as a gen-
eral thing, Congress is invested with a dis-
cretion to admit or reject; but in the event
a new State is admitted into the Union, it
must come in as a State, with all the powers
and rights of a State under the constitu-
tion, and on an equal footing with the origi-
nal States in all respects whatsoever. There-
fore, whatever powers are possessed by any
one State—old or new—in respect to slavery,
may be right, under the constitution, be ex-
ercised by each and every State. In pur-
suance of this sovereign right, which is com-
mon to all the States, sixteen of the States
of the Union have abolished or prohibited
slavery, while the other fifteen States have
recognized and protected it within their limits.
This great principle was distinctly recog-
nized and solemnly guaranteed in the
compromise measures of 1850. [Applause.]

The acts of the organization of the Terri-
tories of New Mexico and Utah—each
containing a stipulation that who said "Terri-
tories, or any part thereof, shall be admit-
ted into the Union as States, they shall be
received with or without slavery, as their
constitution shall prescribe at the time of
admission." The Nebraska bill which has
passed Congress at this session, also carries
out the same principle in the precise lan-
guage of the compromise measures of 1850,
which I have just quoted. [Great applause.]
In 1820 Congress passed an act to au-
thorize the people of Missouri Territory to
form a constitution preparatory to their ad-
mission into the Union as a State on an equal
footing with the original States in all re-
spects whatsoever. The 8th section of the
act declared that slavery should be forever
prohibited in all the territory acquired from
France, north of 36 deg. 33 min., and not
embraced within the limits of the proposed
State of Missouri. This prohibition never
went into practical operation for the reason
that the country was filled with hostile sav-
ages, and set apart by law and treaty as an
Indian territory, from which all white men
were excluded by severe penalties. Hence
the 8th section of the Missouri act, which
relates to slavery, has remained a dead let-
ter on the statute book for thirty-four years,
having no civilized people for it to operate
upon, and its application to the Indians be-
ing necessarily included by acts of Congress
known as the Indian intercourse laws. On
the introduction of the Nebraska bill, there-
fore, a question arose whether legal effect
should now be given for the first time to this
old prohibition—in other words whether
Congress should, as the result of its action,
now apply the Wilmot proviso to Nebraska
and Kansas? To have given legal effect to
this old prohibition would have involved a
total abandonment of the cardinal principles
of the compromise measures of 1850, so
far as they related to the organization of new
Territories. These measures rested upon the
great principles of self-government,
which secures to every people the right to
form and regulate their own domestic insti-
tutions in their own way, subject only to
the constitution of their country. [Applause.]

Why should not the people of Nebraska
and Kansas be permitted to decide this
question of slavery for themselves, as you
did in Pennsylvania, and as we did in Illi-
nois? Are they not capable of self-govern-
ment? Who are they, and where did they
move from, that this mark of inferiority
should be stamped upon them? Did they
not go, and are they not now going by

thousands, from the East and the West,
from the North and the South—from all
the States of the Union, old and new, free
and slaveholding? Were they not as well qual-
ified to decide the question correctly before
they started as you are who were their
neighbors and kindred? Do you think that
they lost any considerable portion of their
intelligence by the way-side, so that they
were less competent to judge for themselves
when they arrived in the new Territories
with their wives and children? Suppose
you, who are listening to me with such
kind attention, should conclude to emigrate
to those fair lands; do you think that when
you should have arrived at your new homes
and have become familiar with the country,
its resources, condition, and wants, you
would be less capable of deciding for your-
selves what kind of laws and institutions
would promote your happiness and welfare
than you are before you start, and when you
know very little of the country? Doubt-
less you will think yourselves perfectly qual-
ified to decide the question now—would you
be less competent to decide it then? [Ap-
plause.]

As an excuse for violating this great
principle of self-government in the organ-
ization of the Territories and in the admis-
sion of new States, the abolitionists tell us
that slavery is a monstrous evil. It is no
part of my purpose to discuss the merits of
slavery as a domestic or political institution.
If it be an evil, your State and mine have
acted wisely, and performed their duty nobly,
in removing it from their limits. Stand-
ing by and vindicating the decision which
the people of Illinois have made upon this
subject, I claim for Kansas and Nebraska—
yes, I demand for every new State which
shall be admitted in all time to come—the
right to determine for themselves and to ex-
ercise power which the constitution has se-
cured to, and has been exercised by, the
people of every State of this Union. [Im-
mense applause.]

If it be an evil, it is not the only evil for
which the people of the several States and
Territories are called upon to provide ade-
quate legislation. There are many good
and true men among us, who conscientiously
believe that the manufacture, sale, and
use of ardent spirits and intoxicating drinks
is a grievous evil, which calls aloud for the
application of the appropriate remedies; yet
white temperance societies have been or-
ganized everywhere, and lectures delivered,
and the pledge circulated, and strenuous ef-
forts made to induce the legislatures of the
different States and Territories to provide
remedies by legislation for this wide spread
evil. I have never heard that any party, so-
cial, or individual has presented a petition
to Congress, praying that the Maine law
shall be imposed upon the Territories and
new States as a fundamental condition
of their admission into the Union, regard-
less of the wishes and in defiance of the
rights of the people who may reside therein
and be affected thereby. [Cheers.]

Crime, in any of its forms and shapes, is
a very great evil in any State or Territory;
yet Congress has never presumed to enact
criminal codes for the Territories and new
States—to declare what shall not be deemed
criminal—to prescribe the penalty and point
out the mode of punishment. These things
have always been left, and I trust always
will be left, to the people of the different
States and Territories, to be determined by
them through their local legislatures in ac-
cordance with their sense of right and duty.
Why should we make an exception of the
slavery question, and apply to it a rule
which is admitted to be unsound and sub-
versive of constitutional right when applied
to any other matter of local and domestic
concern? Are not the people of the Terri-
tories capable of self-government? If not,
why give them a legislature at all—why al-
low them to make laws upon any subject?
If they are capable of self-government, does
it require any higher degree of intelligence
to legislate for the negro than for the white
man, or to prescribe the relations of master
and servant to those of husband and wife,
and parent and child?

But, in order to excuse themselves for so
palpable a repudiation of the great prin-
ciple of self-government, the abolitionists tell
us that slavery is a violation of the law of
God, and therefore the people of the Terri-
tories and new States should not be intrusted
with the decision of the question as pro-
vided in the Nebraska bill. Without stop-
ping to inquire into the sinfulness of slavery
as a religious question, I do maintain that
the mode provided in the Nebraska bill for
determining the controversy of its existence
or exclusion, by referring it to the decision
of the people who are immediately inter-
ested and alone responsible, is strictly in ac-
cordance with the divine law. When God
created man, He placed before him good and
evil, and endowed him the capacity to de-
cide for himself, and held him responsible,
for the consequences of the choice he might
make! [Tremendous applause and cheers.]

This is the divine origin of the great
principle of self-government. [Applause.]
The Almighty breathed the principle into
the nostrils of the first man in the garden of
Eden, and empowered him and his descend-
ants in all time to choose their own form
of government, and to bear the evils and en-
joy the blessings of their own deeds. The
principle applies to communities, and Terri-
tories and States, as well as to individual
men. The principle applies to Kansas as
well as to Pennsylvania—to Nebraska as
well as to Virginia. The constitution of the
United States is in perfect accord with this
divine principle, leaving each State, and the
people thereof, at liberty to govern them-
selves and to reap the harvest of the seed they
may sow. [Immense applause. Cries
"That is right, that is right!"]

I repeat, therefore, that the constitution
of the United States does not establish sla-
very, nor abolish it anywhere—nor does it
recognize and protect the principle in the
constitutions of the different States, however dissem-
inable or whatever their character, provided they
are not in conflict with any of its provisions.
Wherever slavery exists in any State by vir-
tue of the local law, the constitution recognizes
and protects the institution; and wherever
slavery is prohibited by the local law,
the constitution recognizes and protects the
prohibition in such State. The constitution
of the United States is the supreme law
of the land; to which all must yield im-
plicit obedience.

It authorizes Congress to legislate upon
the subject of slavery in two cases only; first,

for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade,
and second, for the surrender of fugitives
from service. Congress has treated in good
faith the full measure of authority in both
cases. The abolitionists avow their willing-
ness to abide by the constitution and law in
one case, where the introduction of any
more slaves into the United States is pro-
hibited, for the reason that the result is in
harmony with their views. But in the other
case, where the act of Congress was passed
for the express purpose of carrying into
effect a plain provision of the constitution by
returning the slave to his master, these
same abolitionists say that they will not abide
by the law—they will trample upon the con-
stitution—they will set at naught the consti-
tuted authorities and bear aloft the stand-
ard of rebellion against the federal govern-
ment for the reason that this clause of the
constitution and the law for carrying it into
effect do harmonize with their views. Their
doctrine is they will abide by and claim the
benefit of the constitution and laws when
ever and wherever they tend to advance
their peculiar theories and opinions; and on
the contrary they will resist both the
constitution and laws, with force and vio-
lence, whenever that line of policy is ne-
cessary. Efforts are now being made to or-
ganize a new party—upon the abolition
platform and to carry on an offensive war
against the local and domestic institutions
of one half of the States of the Union, un-
der a banner which shall proclaim to the
world that they claim for themselves the
protection of the constitution which they do
not to those upon whose rights they make
war—that the constitution is binding upon
their opponents, but not upon themselves;
and they hold themselves at liberty at all
times to obey or resist it as may best suit
their purpose.

Whatever name shall be given to this
new political organization—whether it shall
be called whig, abolition, free-soil or know-
nothing—it will still be the antagonist of
the democratic party. Whatever may be
the nature of the contest or the prospects of
success, the democracy of the nation must
stand firmly by the constitution as it is,
yielding implicit obedience to all of its obli-
gations, and carrying into faithful execution
all of its provisions. [Cheers and continued
applause.] We must maintain the supre-
macy of the laws, put down resistance and
punish the traitors who ever the overt
act of treason shall be committed. [Tre-
mendous cheers and applause.]

Fellow citizens, it has been said that in
the bosom of this new political organization
there is a secret society, bound together by
the most solemn and terrible oaths—"I
know no" is its name. Inquire of whom you
may, and the answer will be "I don't know."
[Great laughter.] And from all the infor-
mation I can get, I am inclined to believe
that "Know Nothings" is their name. [Con-
tinued laughter.]

I was about to say, (and I presume that
the facts connected with your recent election
in this city have sufficiently established the
fact,) that I have been in formed there ex-
ists in the bosom of this new political organ-
ization a secret political society, bound to-
gether by the most terrible oaths, to pro-
scribe every man, whether naturalized or
not, or whatever his political or religious
sentiments, who had the misfortune to be
born in a foreign clime, and like our ances-
tors, driven by religious or political perse-
cutions to flee from his native land and seek
an asylum in America. [Cries of "yes,
yes, there is, there is!"]

It is also said—and with how much truth
you have better opportunities of knowing
than I—that this secret society controls the
nominations and directs the movements of
the allied forces against the democracy—
binds its members by the most solemn obli-
gations to proscribe every man who wor-
ships God according to the Roman Catho-
lic faith, no matter to what race he may be-
long, or to what he was born. [Cries of "that
is it," "they do," "they do!"] It is also said
that your recent city election was controlled
by this society—that your city government
is now being managed under its auspices,
and that the whole patronage of the city is
distributed under its direction and in ac-
cordance with its principles of proscription.

This secret society, whose members pro-
fer to "know nothing," with a view of con-
cealing their political designs, are said to
have their branches and auxiliary societies
in every city, town and village, and to be
in alliance with this great northern sectional
party which proclaims open war upon the
institutions of the States and upon the con-
stitution of the United States. It is not sur-
prising that such a political organiza-
tion should be so formidable and even
irresistible in its first efforts, when the spe-
cific objects and principles of the society
were unknown to community, and before
the people could be aroused to a just sense
of their danger. I speak of the society and
of its principles of action here and wherever
else they have triumphed in the recent elec-
tions, for I am not aware that I am per-
sonally acquainted with any one man who has
taken upon himself their obligations and en-
rolled his name upon their books.

No principle of political action could have
been devised more hostile to the genius of
our institutions, more repugnant to the
test of membership in the society of
"Know-Nothings." To proscribe a man in
this country on account of his birthplace or
his religious faith is subversive of all our
ideas and principles of civil and religious
freedom. It is revolting to our sense of jus-
tice and right. It is derogatory to the char-
acter of our forefathers, who were all emi-
grants from the Old World, some at an ear-
ly and some at a later period. They once
bore allegiance to the crowned heads of
Europe. They too, suffered the torments
of civil and religious persecution, and the
fury of which, tore them from their homes
and forced them to seek new ones on the
shores of America. Indeed the settlement
of this continent, and the development of
the thirteen united colonies, the Declaration
of Independence and the establishment of

this glorious republic, may all be traced
back to the accused spirit of persecution.—
The Pilgrim Father fled from their per-
secutors from England to Holland, and
thence to Plymouth Rock, that they might
be permitted to worship God agreeable to
their own faith. The same spirit compelled
the Friends to seek refuge in the wilderness
under William Penn, whose name they im-
parted to the country they inhabited, and
from which the good old commonwealth of
Pennsylvania has arisen in her glory and
majesty.

Your own beautiful city of Philadelphia
stands a living monument, and I trust it
may stand an eternal monument to the
gratitude to God for having removed them
from the scenes of their troubles to a quiet
and peaceful shore on the banks of the Del-
aware, which in the fullness of their hearts
and in faith that the spirit of religious
persecution would never again reach them
nor spring up among them, they called the
"City of Brotherly Love." [Cheers and
applause.]

The Catholics, who in turn were oppress-
ed and pursued by those who had felt the
rod of their power, found an asylum upon
the banks of the Chesapeake, and called
their colony after their favorite Queen Mary,
to which circumstance the State of Maryland
owes her name and her origin.

The gallant cavaliers who, after having
persecuted the pilgrims and driven from the
kingdom under Charles I, were in return
routed and pursued by Cromwell, with his
invincible army of round heads, and they
fled to Virginia, where they established the
Church of England.

The Huguenots, who settled in South
Carolina, were also refugees from religious
persecution. Thus it will be seen that the
different colonies were the representatives of
the various religious sects in Europe, who
had each been persecuted and had nearly
all persecuted each other in turn, until,
by the strange vicissitudes of fortune, they
were driven from their native land and
forced to seek an asylum upon this con-
tinent, where each could be protected in the
worship of God in accordance with the faith
they had embraced. In proportion as they
became tolerant in matters of religion they
became liberal and enlightened in respect to
the true principles of civil government.
When the revolution broke out, in defence
of their civil and political rights, each and
all of these colonies rallied under the banner
of their common country. The revolution
established their independence by convert-
ing the dependent colonies into distinct so-
vereign States. Yet it was not until the ad-
option of the constitution of the United
States that their liberties were consolidated
and placed on a firm and sure basis. In
the constitution it was provided that "No re-
ligious TEST SHALL EVER BE REQUIRED AS A
QUALIFICATION TO ANY OFFICE OR PUBLIC TRUST
UNDER THE UNITED STATES." [Immense ap-
plause.]

This provision was adopted unanimously.
It was the common ground of justice and
equality upon which all religious denomina-
tions could stand in harmony and security.
It expressed in plain language the true prin-
ciple of religious toleration, the correctness
and necessity of which had been thoroughly
vindicated in the history and experience of
each of the colonies. It was heartily con-
curred in by Protestant and Catholic—by
Puritan and Cavalier—by Quaker and Hugue-
not—each and all of the religious sects
and denominations agreed upon this great
principle as a platform, a common ground
upon which they and their descendants in
all future time could and would stand in
the bonds of brotherly affection. [Applause.]

By another clause of the constitution no
man can hold office under the government of
the United States, or under any of the State
governments, until he has subscribed an
oath to support the constitution of the United
States. This oath must be taken, and
ought to be kept not only by Presidents,
and governors, and judges, but by the may-
ors of your cities and all their subordinates
in office. [Tremendous cheers and applause.]
Now, fellow-citizens, permit me to inquire,
in all kindness, could any members of this
political society, called "know-nothings,"
take upon themselves a solemn oath by
which they shall stand pledged to raise up a
religious test as a qualification for office, in
the very teeth of the constitution, by pre-
scribing men on account of their religious
faith? Will they exorcise themselves on the
ground that they did not know of this clause
in the constitution? [Cheers and laughter.]

Will they tell us that they did not know
the history of their own country—that they
did not know of the sufferings and persecutions
to which their fathers had been subjected
on account of their religious faith—that they
did not know that the obligations and privi-
leges of their society were at war with the
genius of our whole republican system and
in direct conflict with the principles of the
constitution? [Loud cheering.]

If they did not know these things, surely
there was wisdom in calling themselves
"KNOW-NOTHINGS." [Tremendous
cheers and roars of laughter.]
Those who do not know should be made
to learn and feel that the constitution is the
supreme law of the land—that all men who
live under it, and enjoy its protection, must
yield implicit obedience to its requirements,
in all its parts and provisions, whether they
like them or not. [Cheers and continued
applause.]

Their likes or dislikes have nothing to do
with the question. We live under a govern-
ment of laws, and the supremacy of the laws
must be maintained, no matter from what
quarter or motive the resistance may come.
[Great applause.]

The quality of all the States under the
constitution, and the right of the people to
decide for themselves what kind of local and
domestic institutions they will have, are car-
dinal principles in the democratic creed.
[Loud and enthusiastic cheers.]
To these fundamental propositions let me
add another, which forms the corner-stone
in the temple of our liberties. It is that all
men have an inalienable right to the dicta-
tes of their own conscience, and under our in-
stitutions no man ought or can be proscribed
on account of his birthplace or of his reli-
gious faith. [Loud cheers and applause.]
These are the issues which the democra-
tic party of the nation have to meet and
maintain before the people in all the States.
Let no consideration of partisan policy or
temporary advantage induce us to swerve a
hair's breadth from our principles. If we
meet the questions fairly and directly, and

fight the battle boldly, and should even suf-
fer a temporary defeat, yet we will have the
proud satisfaction of knowing that we have
saved our honor at the same time that a glo-
rious triumph awaits us in the future. [Ap-
plause.]

Then, fellow-democrats, let us stand by
our arms, and be ready to fight the allied
forces of abolitionism, whiggism, nativism,
and religious intolerance, under whatever
name and on whatever field they may pre-
sent themselves. [Enthusiastic cheers and
tremendous applause.]

And if, after struggling as our forefathers
struggled for centuries in their native land,
against civil and religious persecution, we
and our children shall be finally borne down
and trampled under the heel of despotism,
we can still follow their example—flee to the
wilderness, and find an asylum in Nebraska,
where the principles of self government have
been firmly established in the organic act
which recently passed Congress.

Tremendous shouts of applause. Cheer
after cheer for Douglas—cheers for Nebr-
ska—cheers for the principles of self-govern-
ment, in the midst of which Mr. Douglas
retire from the stand.

INITIATING NOUTSIDER

BY JACK HUMPHRIES.

All creation and the balance of mankind
were, early one morning aroused from the
dullest torpor pervading the pious, prim,
and peaceable town of East Nutmeg, by the
cry of—

"What is it all about?" "When did they
come?" "How many are they?" "What do
they look like?" "Did you see 'em?" "Are
they human critters?" "What are they
going to do?"
"Who?" "What?"
"The Know-Nothings!"
"Know-Nothing?" says a native.
"Know-Nothing."
"Well, I'd give a f'ence to know, 'em," con-
fined the native, "what in sin is't all
about?"

"O, you have't seen 'em?" says a jolly,
round visaged, bright eyed individual, who
with other strangers, and natives of East
Nutmeg, were gathered in a knot about the
depot, discussing the topic which had in a
single night come, saw, and took the town.
"Hav't seen 'em?"
"Seen who?" says the native.
"The Know-Nothings."
"Know-Nothings! Wal, I kinder cal'late
I hav, a few."

"O, you are one of 'em, eh?"
"Look a here, squire, if yee don't want
to be squatted cross-legged in yon heap o'
sand, I cal'late you'd better not say my
education has been neglected in any such
way."

"Not at all, my dear sir, I only predicted
that you were a—that is, hang it—I mean
do you know what's out?"
"Yes; I'll tell you what's out, squire,
a good what is it!"

"A wot agit Jos' Pruden for breakin,
the Sabbath all tew flinders, playin' heards
in Deacon Dink's barn."

"I shaw!" said the jolly man, "I don't
mean that sort of work, I suppose you are
like the rest of these Know-Nothings, too, to
be to be caught?"

"Squire, do you chaw?"
"Yes," said the jolly looking man.
"Hand us your tobacco then."

"Yes, I do s' chaw."
"Git out!" gettin' kinder sharp set too,
I cal'late. Now lok a here, squire, I gin
you expect yee from New York?"
"Expect yee're correct in your remarks."

"Well, I knew you was; can't you tell
fellers a mile off, y'es, can by kingdom.
Now, I cal'late there's somethin' goin' on,
that's a fact—all firedust rowd around this
yer town, this mornin', beout somethin a
feller here hear."

"Ah, that's what I was coming at. Now
they say you've got up a new invention—a
non-fangled society, or a new order, party,
or sect, or something that's bound to get
Christendom in an uproar; how is it?"
"Eh, yes; when they goin' to begin it,
squire?"

"O, you git out, sly dog, sly, you one of
'em?"
"What them fellows that's goin' to raise
sin, and break things?"
"I don't know; I only ask you," contin-
ued the squire, "I only ask for information
you see?"

"Wall, naw, look a here, a feller never
made much by doct'ored ignorance in this
land of universal liberty and general educa-
tion; and a feller hates to come right down
and a confest he don't know nothin," that's
a fact; but, squire, I've got to acknowledge
the corn, a-and it's no use talkin', but
dam my buttons to apple sass, if I want,
as poor a fellow as I be, gin jest ten shillings
and upwards to know what's kinder busted
around here."

"Would you?"
"Wouldn't I? By golly, squire, I guess
yeour the odtter can jest tell all about it."
"I jest the man that can."

"I know you be! Grea-a-t kingdom,
let's hear all about it!"
"His-s-h!" said the humorous man,
"his-s-h! I've been sounding you."

"Yeou don't say so?" echoes the citizen
of Nutmeg.
"Yes, squire; we have to be cautious."
"Eh, yes," abstractedly responds the
Nutmegger.

"Can't s'peak out to everybody?"
"S-s-s!"
"Yes, squire; now I know you're a good
egg."

"Ages?"
"Good egg—sound to the core!"
"Sowd? would't wonder, never ailin'
but once in my hull life; then I had the dar-
dest scratchin' time yeou ever did see, I
reckon. Ever had the itch, squire?"

"Never, thank you."

"O, not at all, squire, you are quite wel-

come, as Uncle Nat said, when he shot the
leg."

"Well, sir, now I'll give you in a whis-
per, an idea what's up; and if you love your
country—"

"M-m?"
"The land of the free, and the home of
the brave!"
"Grea-a-t Fourth of July!